



Unit 09: Indian National Movement (Part 01)

Space for Notes

Topics To Be Covered

- Rise of Indian Nationalism
- Factors Responsible For Rise of Nationalism in India
- Political Associations Before the Establishment of the Indian National Congress (INC)
- Foundation of the Indian National Congress (INC)
- Moderate Phase (1885 - 1919) of the INC
- Prominent Moderate Leaders
- Extremist Phase (1906 - 1919) of the INC
- Prominent Extremist Leaders
- Partition of Bengal, 1905
- Swadeshi Movement
- Beginning of Revolutionary Extremism

Rise of Indian Nationalism

- Indian nationalism arose during the **second half of the 19th century**.
- **Meaning of Nationalism:** Nationalism refers to a **sense of belonging** where a community believes that they have a **common history** and their **future is converged**.
- **Case of India:** Nationalism is a **cultural concept** and in the case of India it is based upon the **idea of "Unity in Diversity"**.

Understanding Some Key Concepts

- **Nation:** Nationalism is derived from the term nation, which is fundamentally a cultural concept. A nation is often defined by **shared characteristics such as language, ethnicity, history, traditions, and a common sense of identity**.
- **Case of India:** India surpasses the idea of one shared characteristic rather promotes **"unity in diversity"**. India is viewed as a **salad bowl**

where diverse cultures can coexist harmoniously, each retaining its distinct identity.

- **State:** A state is a political entity defined by four key elements: population, territory, government, and sovereignty whereas nation is a cultural concept.
- **Nation-State:** Today, the idea of nation-state is more popular which converges political and cultural boundaries. France is an example.

Modern Nationalism (Started with the French Revolution)

- Modern nationalism began with the French Revolution (1789-1799) and was rooted in the revolutionary ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity.
- The Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen (1789) gave a modern definition of the nation, stating that: "The principle of any Sovereignty lies primarily in the Nation. No corporate body, no individual may exercise any authority that does not expressly emanate from it."

Factors Responsible For Rise of Nationalism in India

Nationalism emerged in India as a result of the impact of British rule as well as because of the rise of consciousness among Indians.

- **Positive Impact of British Rule:** The positive aspects of the British rule like introduction of the uniform administration, introduction of English as a language as well as development of means of communication like railways helped in the creation of a national identity and played an important role in the rise of Indian nationalism.
- **Negative Impact of British Rule:** The British rule was colonial in character and it led to mass suffering for the people of India. The economic exploitation carried out by the British united the masses in India against British rule. The British pursued racist policies in India and this became a common denominator which united the Indian people.

Space for Notes



- **Debate Around the British Impact:** British historian R. Coupland commented that "Indian nationalism was the child of the British Raj, and British authorities blessed its cradle". This viewpoint was contested by Indian historian Bipin Chandra who emphasized that British rule was imperialism in nature and imperialism is antithesis of nationalism.
 - He further clarified that Indian nationalism was an unwanted child of Raj whom it refused to feed at birth and sought to strangle it subsequently.
 - As per Bipin Chandra multiple political, social as well as economic factors came together to boost nationalism in India.

Political Factors

- **Pre-Congress Associations:** The emergence of regional political associations from the 1830s fostered a new political consciousness among Indians and laid the groundwork for the formation of the Indian National Congress in 1885.
- **Role of Press:** The press created an intellectual unification in India and built public opinion for the betterment of the Indian population. They also highlighted the regressive policies of the government and nudged for reforms of the administration.
- **Lord Lytton's Imperialist Policies:** The imperialist policies of Lord Lytton also played a major role in the rise of Indian nationalism.
 - He celebrated a ceremony at Delhi Durbar when Queen Victoria assumed the title Kaiser-i-Hind (the Empress of India) when the country was famine-stricken.
 - He passed the Vernacular Press Act, 1878 to stifle public opinion.
 - He passed Arms Act to take away the rights of Indians to keep arms. It made it mandatory for the Indians to have a license to keep, sell, or purchase arms.
 - He lowered the age limit for the Civil Services Examination from 21 to 19, making it more difficult for Indians to compete.All these steps created major discontent among the Indians.

- **Ilbert Bill Controversy:** Ilbert Bill was drafted to empower the Indian judges to try Europeans in criminal cases. But it was passed with certain amendments which defeated the purpose of the bill. Indians learnt that a united front is required in order to fight against the British.
- This led to the creation of Indian National Congress (INC) in 1885.

Ilbert Bill Controversy (1883)

- **Bill:** At the time, Indian judges were not allowed to try European (British) subjects in criminal cases in the higher courts. The bill proposed to remove this racial discrimination by allowing Indian judges and magistrates to try British and European offenders.
- **Opposition:** The European community in India vehemently opposed the bill. The pressure mounted due to campaigning from the European Defense Association.
- **Outcome:** Due to intense pressure, the bill was watered down. A defendant would in all cases have the right to claim trial by a jury of which at least half the members must be European.

Socio-Cultural Factors

- **Spreading of Information:** The introduction of western education helped in dissemination of scientific and democratic ideas. The ideas of enlightenment became famous in India and helped in the rise of national consciousness.
- **Socio-Religious Reform Movements:** The socio-religious reform movements helped in democratising the social and religious institutions of the country and promoted unity among the masses.

Economic Factors

- **Drain of Wealth by the British:** The drain of wealth done by the British in India was linked to poverty and famines in India and led to the rise of economic nationalism where Indians wanted the British to reform itself to keep Indian priorities at the top. This became a perpetual feature of British Raj and helped in the rise of Indian nationalism.

Space for Notes

Indian nationalism did not emerge in a vacuum. It evolved over time, shaped by the country's historical, cultural, social, and political contexts.

- **Socio-Cultural Nationalism:** This was the expression of Indian nationalism, rooted in a defensive assertion of Indian cultural identity. It arose as a response to the colonial narrative of Western superiority.
 - Reflected in socio-religious reform movements such as the Brahmo Samaj, Arya Samaj, Ramakrishna Mission, and the Aligarh Movement.
 - Aimed at reviving Indian traditions, reforming social evils (like sati), and defending Indian heritage against colonial denigration.
 - This form built the foundation of cultural pride, which later fueled political demands.
- **Economic Nationalism:** This phase marked a shift towards critiquing British economic exploitation and the structural damage to Indian economy.
 - Opposition to colonial economic policies, such as the land revenue system, commercialization of agriculture, and deindustrialization.
 - Leaders like Dadabhai Naoroji, R.C. Dutt, and M.G. Ranade played a key role.
 - The "Drain of Wealth" theory was central, arguing that British rule led to a systematic transfer of Indian resources to Britain.
 - Formation of Swadeshi movements, promotion of indigenous industries, and boycott of British goods.
- **Political Nationalism:** This phase began with the formation of political organizations and formal political demands.
 - The founding of the Indian National Congress in 1885.
 - Early demands focused on constitutional reforms, greater representation in legislative and provincial councils.
 - Over time, this movement diversified ideologically:
 - Moderates (like Gokhale) emphasized dialogue and

Space for Notes

reform.

- Extremists (like Tilak) advocated assertive action and mass mobilization.
 - Emergence of Revolutionary Nationalists, engaging in radical action against colonial rule.
 - Later phases included Socialists, Communists, and Gandhian mass movements, transforming the nationalist discourse to include peasants, workers, and marginalized groups.
- Religious Nationalism and Communalism: Nationalism began to take on religious overtones, culminating in communal polarization:
 - The growth of Hindu and Muslim communalism—fueled partly by colonial divide-and-rule policies.
 - Rise of organizations like the Muslim League (1906), demand for separate electorates, communal representation, and eventually the Two-Nation Theory.
 - Resulted in the Partition of India in 1947, based on religious lines—a tragic outcome of religious nationalism.

Space for Notes

Political Associations Before the Establishment of the Indian National Congress (INC)

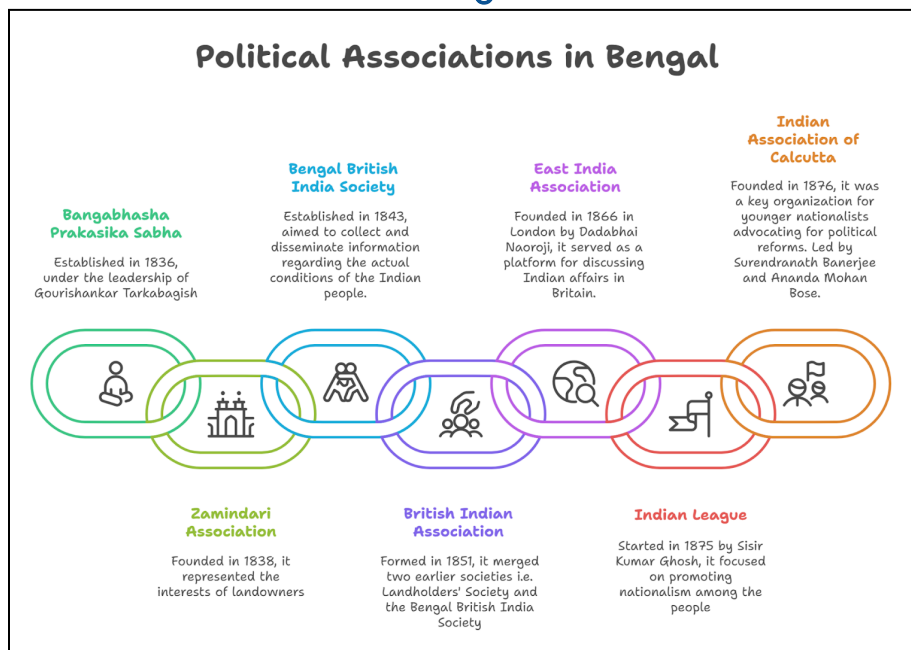
Britain - Background (Context)

The British Parliament passed the Reform Act in 1832, which altered the British electoral system and effectively gave middle-class men the right to vote.

This led to the formation of modern political parties. This development also reached India, where the first political associations emerged in Bengal and later in Bombay and Madras. In 1885, the Indian National Congress (INC) was established.

Political Associations in Bengal

Space for Notes



- Bangabhasha Prakasika Sabha (1836):** This was the first organized political association formed in India. It was established under the leadership of Gourishankar Tarkabagish by associates of Raja Rammohan Roy.
 - Objective:** The objective of the association was to promote Bengali education and build public opinion. It also worked towards the promotion of vernacular literature in Bengal.
- Zamindari Association (1838):** Also known as the 'Landholders' Society', it was founded to safeguard the interests of landlords.
 - Aim:** The association campaigned for the implementation of the Permanent Settlement system across India.
 - Impact:** It successfully secured concessions from the British government, including tax exemption for temples and land granted to Brahmins.
- Bengal British India Society (1843):** This society aimed to collect and disseminate information regarding the actual conditions of the Indian people.



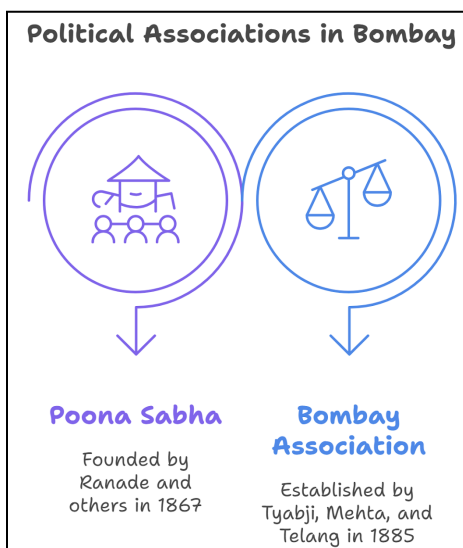
- It employed peaceful and lawful means to promote the welfare, extend the just rights, and advance the interests of all classes of British Indian subjects.
- **British Indian Association (1851):** In 1851, the Landholders' Society and the Bengal British India Society merged to form the British Indian Association.
 - **Agendas:** It submitted a petition to the British Parliament demanding the establishment of a separate legislature of a popular character, separation of executive and judicial functions, reduction in the salaries of high-ranking officers, and the abolition of salt and stamp duties.
 - **Impact:** Some of these demands were partially accepted in the Charter Act of 1853, which provided for the addition of six members to the Governor-General's Council for legislative purposes.
- **East India Association (1866):** Organized by Dadabhai Naoroji in London, the objective of this association was to discuss the "Indian question" and influence public figures in England to promote Indian welfare. Later, branches of the association were established in prominent Indian cities.
- **Indian League (1875):** Started by Sisir Kumar Ghosh, its aim was to stimulate a sense of nationalism among the people and encourage political education.
- **Indian Association of Calcutta (1876):** Founded by younger nationalists of Bengal, led by Surendranath Banerjee and Ananda Mohan Bose. They became disillusioned with the conservative and pro-landlord stance of the British Indian Association.
 - It was one of the most important pre-Congress associations.
 - It aimed to create strong public opinion on political issues and unify the Indian people under a common political programme.
 - It actively protested the reduction of the age limit (in 1877) for candidates appearing in the Indian Civil Services Examination.

- It demanded the simultaneous holding of civil service examinations in England and India, along with the Indianisation of higher administrative posts.
- The association led campaigns against the repressive Arms Act and the Vernacular Press Act.
- Branches of the association were opened in other towns and cities across Bengal, and even beyond.

Space for Notes

Political Associations in Bombay

- **Poona Sarvagjanik Sabha (1867):** Founded by Mahadev Govind Ranade and others, its objective was to serve as a bridge between the government and the people. It worked to represent public opinion and push for administrative reforms.
- **Bombay Presidency Association (1885):** Established by Badruddin Tyabji, Pherozeshah Mehta, and K.T. Telang.

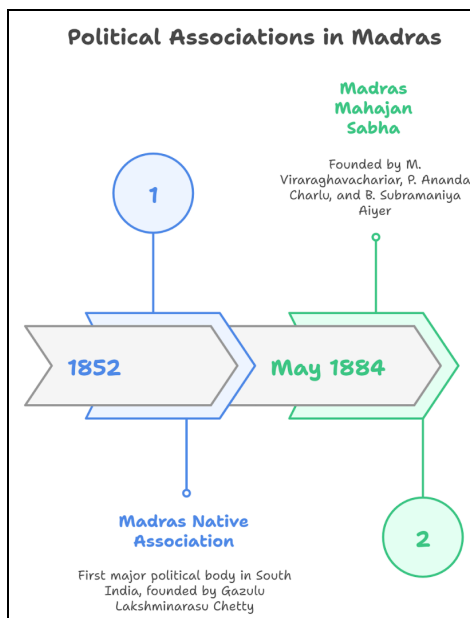


- **Background:** The association was formed in response to the reactionary policies of Lord Lytton and the controversy surrounding the Ilbert Bill. These events stirred political awareness in Bombay and led to the formation of this association to represent Indian interests more assertively.

Political Associations in Madras

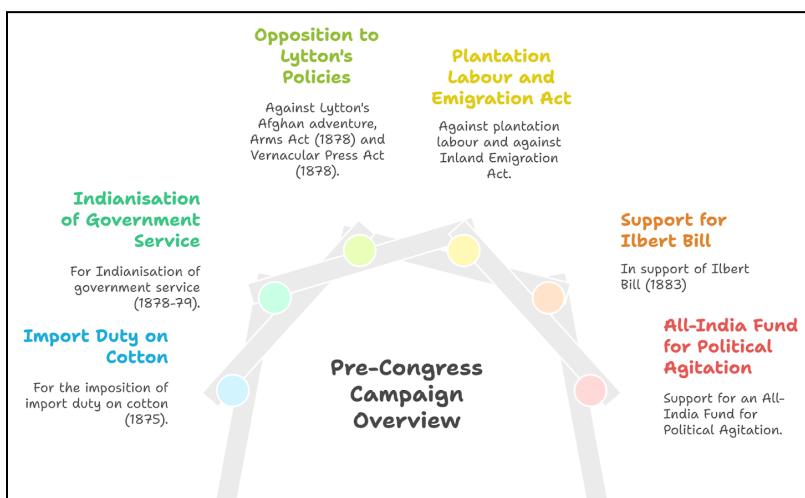
- **Madras Native Association (1852):** Launched by Gazulu Lakshminarasu Chetty, this was one of the earliest political associations in South India.

- **Objective:** Its primary aim was to advocate for reforms in British administration and to protest against injustices faced by Indians.
- However, the association lacked vitality from its inception, had little public support, and faded into obscurity after the Revolt of 1857.
- **Madras Mahajan Sabha (1884):** Established by M. Viraraghavachariar, P. Ananda Charlu, and B. Subramaniya Aiyer in May 1884, the Sabha aimed to form a platform at the national level to address Indian problems and push for self-governance.
 - **Objective:** It played a significant role in voicing Indian grievances and laid the groundwork for national political unity before the formation of the Indian National Congress.



Pre-Congress Campaigns

These organizations participated in a number of areas as below:



Space for Notes

Shortcomings (and Positives) of Pre-Congress Political Association

Over a span of 50 years (1830s to 1880s), many political associations were formed, but most could not withstand the test of time.

- **Shortcomings:**
 - **Regional in Nature:** These associations were limited to specific regions and lacked nationwide reach.
 - **Lack of Unity:** Their objectives varied, and they failed to come together on a common platform.
 - **Limited Impact:** As a result, they were unable to exert significant pressure on the British government.
- **Positives and Contributions:**
 - Laid the foundation for future political movements and organizations, including the Indian National Congress.
 - Promoted political awareness among the Indian masses.
 - Articulated early India-specific demands, helping shape the discourse around rights, representation, and reforms.

Foundation of the Indian National Congress (INC)

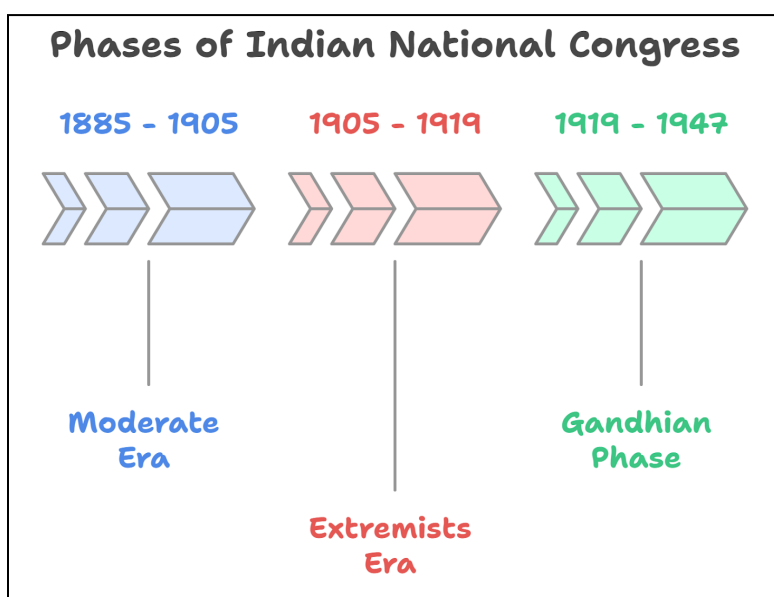


Fig: 1919 onwards, India also witnessed the rise of Communists, Socialist and revolutionaries.

Space for Notes



Background

- **Formation:** The Indian National Congress (INC) was founded in December 1885 by A.O. Hume, a retired British civil servant at Gokuldas Tejpal Sanskrit College, Bombay.
- **Participation:** 72 delegates attended
- **General Secretary:** A. O. Hume
- **First President:** W. C. Banerjee of Calcutta was elected as the first president

Objectives of INC

- **Promote the Feeling of National Unity:** INC wanted to develop the feeling of national unity irrespective of race, religion, caste and provinces.
- **Creation of a National Political Platform:** INC was envisioned as a platform where all Indians could agree and formed the basis of all Indian political activity.
- **Broad Consensus in Decision-Making:** In 1888, it was decided that no resolution would be passed if it was objected by an overwhelming majority of Hindu or Muslim
- **No Focus on Social Reforms:** INC was a political body and this platform was not going to be used for discussing social reform.
- **Early Demands of Congress (Moderates):** Indianisation of civil services
 - Greater Indian representation in the legislature
 - Reduction of military expenditure
 - Separation of the executive and judiciary
 - Promotion of industry in India
 - Promotion of education of the Indian masses

Social Composition of Early Congress Leadership

- They were **elitist** and belonged to socially well-to-do communities.
- They were **Western-educated**
- **Between 1892 to 1909**
 - 19% → Landlords
 - 40% → Lawyers

Space for Notes



- 15% → Traders
- 3% → Journalists
- 3% → Teachers
- Between **1892 to 1909**, 90% of the delegates were Hindus while only 6.5% were Muslims.
 - Among Hindus, around **40% were Brahmins** and the rest were upper caste Hindus.
- The majority of the early leaders came from three presidencies: Calcutta, Madras and Bombay.
- The representation of women was negligible.

Safety Valve Theory

- **Proposal of the Theory:** The theory mentioned by Lala Lajpat Rai (an extremist leader) in 1916 in his journal, Young India. The theory argues that the Indian National Congress (INC) was created not to serve Indian interests, but rather to protect and support British rule by providing a controlled outlet for Indian political aspirations.
- **Origin of the Theory:** This theory originated from the biography of A.O. Hume by William Wedderburn. In this book, it was emphasised that Hume was concerned about the serious discontent prevailing among the Indian masses.
- **Basis of Claims Made:** As per Wedderburn, Hume saw seven volumes of secret reports in 1878 at Shimla. These reports indicated that Indians were planning a massive revolt on the scale of the 1857 rebellion.
 - Hume reportedly had a network of "babas and chelas" (informants) who confirmed this growing discontent.
- **INC Formation - Safety Valve:** In response to this perceived threat, A.O. Hume established the INC in 1885 as an emergency measure to divert revolutionary energy into a peaceful and moderate political movement, thus protecting British colonial interests.
- **Criticism of Safety Valve Theory:**

Space for Notes

- **Moderates vs Extremists - Surat Split (1907):** An impartial examination of the Safety Valve Theory brings to life that it was just a tool used by extremists to condemn the moderates of Congress.
- **Secret Reports Never Found:** The secret reports cited by Wedderburn have never been discovered in any archive in India or Britain, casting doubt on their very existence.
- **Hume could not access the Report:** Hume worked in the Revenue Department in Shimla, while the secret reports were under the Home Department in Delhi. Wedderburn fails to explain how Hume, who was not authorized, accessed these documents.
- **Delay in Action:** Wedderburn claims Hume learned about the threat in 1878, yet the INC was founded only in 1885, a seven-year delay that weakens the argument of an urgent response to imminent danger.
- **INC Not Formed in Vacuum:** In light of the above analysis, it is evident that the Safety Valve Theory does not adequately explain the foundation of the INC. Rather, the INC was the outcome of sustained political activity that began in India during the 1830s and culminated in its establishment in 1885.
- **Bipin Chandra's Analysis:** Historian Bipin Chandra observed that it is high time the Safety Valve Theory was "confined to the care of the mahatmas from whom, perhaps, it originated."

Lightning Conductor Theory

Congress used A O Hume as a lightning conductor to secure INC from the wrath of the Britishers. As a result, Congress survived, enabling it to sustain itself for a longer period.

Moderate Phase (1885 - 1919) of the INC

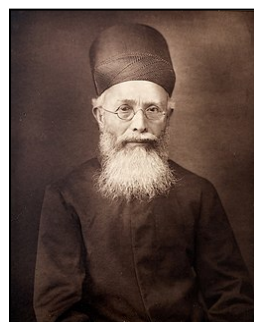
- **Who Were Moderates:** The group of Indian politicians who dominated Congress politics from 1885 to 1905 are known as moderates.

- **Methods used by the Moderates:** The leaders highlighted the importance of the 3 Ps- Prayer, Petition, and Protest.
 - They had complete faith in the British sense of justice and adopted constitutional means to achieve their demands.

Prominent Moderate Leaders

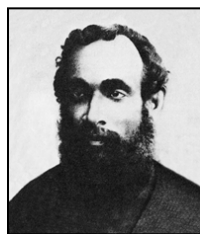
Dadabhai Naoroji, Pherozeshah Mehta, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Surendranath Banerjee, and others.

- **Dadabhai Naoroji - The Grand Old Man of India:** Spent much of his career in Britain, advocating for the Indian cause.
 - Founding member of the Indian National Congress; **presided over its sessions in 1886, 1893, and 1906.**
 - Authored 'Poverty and Un-British Rule in India', introducing the **Drain of Wealth Theory**.
 - **Coined the slogan of Swaraj**, which became the official goal of the INC at the 1906 Calcutta session.
- **Pherozeshah Mehta:** Founding member of the Indian National Congress; **presided over the 1890 Calcutta session.**
 - Nominated to the **Bombay Legislative Council (1887)** and later to the **Imperial Legislative Council (1893).**
 - First president and founding member of the **Bombay Presidency Association.**
 - Advocated for Western education and cultural adoption as a means to uplift India.
- **Gopal Krishna Gokhale:** Senior leader of the Indian National Congress and founder of the **Servants of India Society.**
 - **Campaigned for Indian self-rule** and social reforms through the Society, the INC, and legislative bodies.



Space for Notes

- Presided over the 1905 Banaras Session of the INC.
- Known for his influential speeches, particularly during Budget Sessions in the legislature.
- **Surendranath Banerjee:** Founded the **Indian National Association** and led the **Indian National Conference sessions** in 1883 and 1885 with Ananda Mohan Bose.
 - Merged his association with the **Indian National Congress** in 1886, becoming a senior leader.
 - Opposed Gandhi's civil disobedience methods and split from the Congress in 1919, founding the **Indian National Liberal Federation**.
- **R.C. Dutt:** Among the earliest critics of British economic policies; authored **Economic History of India**, analyzing colonial impact from 1757 onwards.
 - A moderate leader, he believed in cooperation with the British for India's progress.



Space for Notes

Contribution of Moderates

- **Economic Critique of British Imperialism:** Moderates put forward the theory of the Drain of Wealth, which linked India's poverty and economic backwardness to British exploitation. This led to the demand of Swaraj in Indian politics.
- **Constitutional Reforms and Propaganda:** The moderates urged for Constitutional reforms. Under pressure, the British passed the Indian Council Act, 1892 which allowed the discussion of the budget and increased the number of members in the Imperial and Provincial legislative Council.
- **Protection of Civil Rights:** Moderates also promoted civil rights for Indians. They demanded the rule of law as it was practised in Britain.
- **Fostering Future Leadership:** Moderates also helped in fostering future leadership. Gopal Krishna Gokhale was the political guru of Mahatma Gandhi.



- **Social Reforms:** Moderate leaders favoured social reforms and took initiative in their individual capacity. M. G. Ranade started the Indian National Social Conference while Gokhale started the Servants of India Society.

Limitations of Moderates

- **Elitist Group:** Most of the early nationalist leaders came from elite groups and politics remained a part-time activity.
- **Lack of Mass Base:** Moderates did not have faith in the capacity of masses, and that is why they could not put effective pressure on British Raj.
- **No clear Objectives:** Congress lacked clear-cut objectives in the beginning. For example, Swaraj as an objective was only adopted in 1906.

Conclusion

Even though moderates could not play a very effective role in their initial years, they established an all-India political platform and played a crucial role in developing Indian nationalism. They put forward the theory of Drain of Wealth and this led to the demand of Swaraj, which became the focal point of Indian politics for the next two decades.

Extremist Phase (1906 - 1919) of the INC

- **Who Were Extremists?** In the first decade of the 20th century, a new political section emerged in India that believed in aggressive action against the British Raj. This group is commonly known as an extremist. They dominated political activities in India from 1906 to 1919.

Factors Responsible for the Rise of Extremists

- **Failure of Moderates:** The inability of the moderates to exert effective pressure on the British Raj led to growing dissatisfaction within Indian political circles. Extremists sought to move away from the moderate strategy of petition, prayer, and protest, which was increasingly seen as a sign of weakness by the British government.

Space for Notes



- **Worsening Economic Situation:** The continuous drain of wealth from India led to widespread discontent among the masses. The Drain of Wealth Theory not only exposed the exploitative nature of British rule but also discredited the colonial government, fueling the rise of extremist sentiments.
- **Role of the Vernacular Press:** The growth of the vernacular press, including newspapers like Kesari edited by Bal Gangadhar Tilak, played a critical role in spreading nationalist ideas and criticizing moderate politics, thereby encouraging the rise of extremism.
- **Dissatisfaction of Young Educated Class:** Young educated class was dissatisfied with the achievements of moderates and that is why they wanted a new kind of politics.
- **Famines and Epidemics:** India faced multiple famines as well as epidemics in the last decade of the 19th century. The steps taken by the British government were draconian in nature and it also led to the rise of extremism.
- **International Inspiration:** Global events such as Japan's victory over Russia (1905) and Ethiopia's defeat of Italy (1896) shattered the myth of European racial superiority. These developments inspired Indians and boosted their confidence in the possibility of challenging British imperialism.
- **Policies of Lord Curzon:** The reactionary policies of Lord Curzon acted as a catalyst for the rise of extremism. Key measures included:
 - **Calcutta Corporation Act, (1899):** To reduce the Indian control of the local body.
 - **Universities Act (1904):** To reduce the autonomy of the universities and make them government departments.
 - **Official Secrets Act:** Increased secrecy and opacity in government functioning, limiting public access to administrative decisions.
 - **Partition of Bengal (1905):** Seen as a deliberate attempt to divide and rule, this act sparked widespread outrage and led to

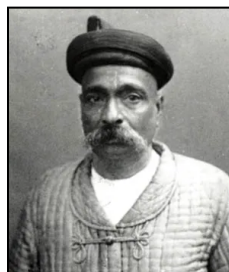
Space for Notes

the Swadeshi Movement, which aligned with the extremist agenda.

Prominent Extremist Leaders

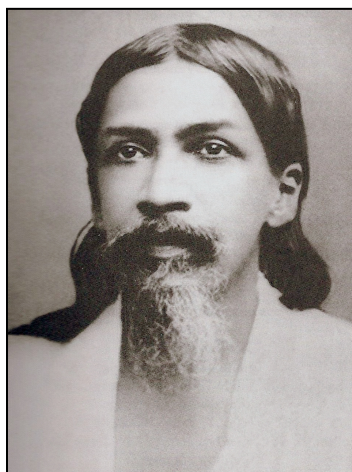
The three pillars of extremism were **Lal, Bal, and Pal** - Lala Lajpat Rai, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, and Bipin Chandra Pal. Through their newspapers – **Kesari (Tilak), New India (Pal), and Punjabi (Lala)** – they launched strong attacks against British rule.

- **Bal Gangadhar Tilak:** Known as 'Lokmanya' and regarded as the real founder of the anti-British movement.
 - Used The Mahratta (English) and Kesari (Marathi) to spread nationalist ideas.
 - Imprisoned twice; deported to Mandalay Jail in Burma in 1908 for six years.
 - Founded the Home Rule League in 1916 at Poona.
 - Famous for the slogan: "Swaraj is my birthright, and I will have it."



Bal Gangadhar Tilak was convicted of sedition twice. In 1897, Tilak was convicted by the Bombay High Court for his speeches at a Shivaji festival that had allegedly prompted the murder of two British officers

- **Bipin Chandra Pal:** Started as a moderate, later became an extremist.
 - Played a key role in the Swadeshi Movement.
 - Promoted nationalism through powerful speeches and writings across India.
- **Aurobindo Ghosh:** Actively participated in the Swadeshi Movement; inspired revolutionaries like Bagha Jatin and Surendranath Tagore.



Space for Notes

- Helped establish youth clubs, including Anushilan Samiti in Calcutta (1902).
- Appointed the first principal of National College, Calcutta (1906) to promote national education.
- Arrested in the Alipore Conspiracy Case (1908) and later withdrew from politics, moved to Pondicherry (then under French rule), where he later established the Aurobindo Ashram.
- On 15 August 1947, he opposed the partition of India, calling it a temporary expedient, not a permanent settlement.
- **Lala Lajpat Rai:** Known as the 'Lion of Punjab'; played a key role in the Swadeshi Movement.
 - Founded the Indian Home Rule League in the U.S. (1916).
 - Deported to Mandalay on charges of sedition.
 - Fatally injured while leading a protest against the Simon Commission; died on November 17, 1928.



Goals of Extremists

- The primary objective of extremists was to take the Indian national movement to the masses and bring an end to the petition politics of moderates.
- Swaraj was the main goal of extremists and it was adopted by Congress in 1906.

Methods Used by Extremists

- They used the methods of passive resistance and boycott and believed in self-reliance.
- These methods were utilised in the Swadeshi movement and later on, these methods were accepted by Gandhi with certain modifications.

Practice Question

- Discuss the objectives of the early Indian National Congress (INC). (10 marks)
- Critically analyze the Safety Valve Theory with respect to the formation of INC.

Space for Notes

Partition of Bengal, 1905

Space for Notes

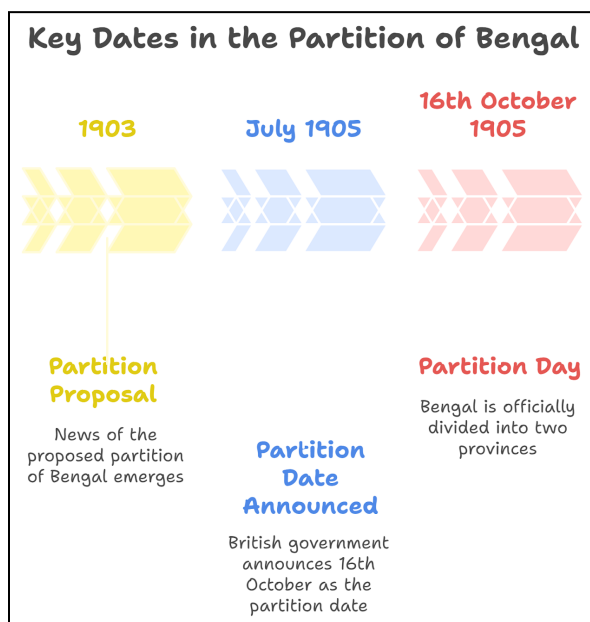


Fig: The Swadeshi Movement was launched on 7th August, 1905. In 2015, the Government of India decided to designate the 7th August every year, as the National Handloom Day.

- Partition of Bengal was done by Lord Curzon in 1905. He commented that Partition of Bengal was required for administrative efficiency but the manner in which it was executed made it an evident fact that the British wanted to divide the strengthening of Indian Nationalism.

Geographical Scope

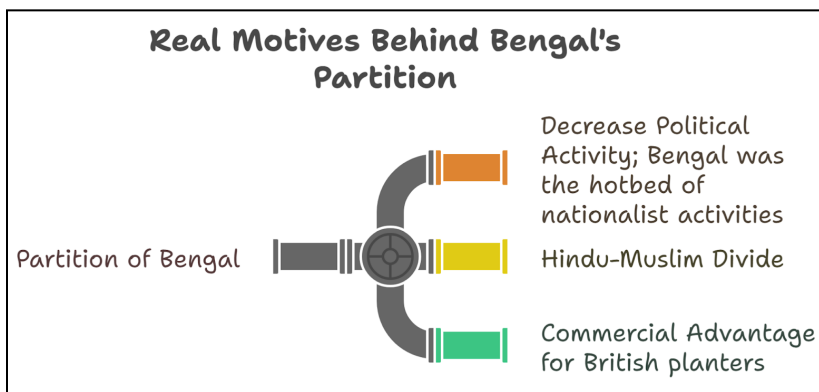
Bengal Presidency was one of the largest provinces in India, populated by more than 78 million people, encompassing present day West Bengal, Bangladesh, Bihar, parts of Chhattisgarh, Odisha, and Assam.

Real Reasons Behind Partition of Bengal

"Bengal united is a power; Bengal divided will pull in several different ways." - Home Secretary H H Risley in 1904

- **Suppress Political Activities:** The British tried to dethrone Calcutta from its position as the centre of Indian nationalism and divide the Bengali speaking population on the basis of religion.

- **Commercial Advantage:** The division of Bengal also brought commercial advantage for British planters as now they can really access rail-road links in East Bengal as well as the port of Chittagong.



In July 1905, Curzon announced the partition of Bengal into two provinces. East Bengal and Assam, with a population of 38 million, was predominantly Muslim, while the western province, called Bengal, was reduced to 55 million people, primarily Hindus.

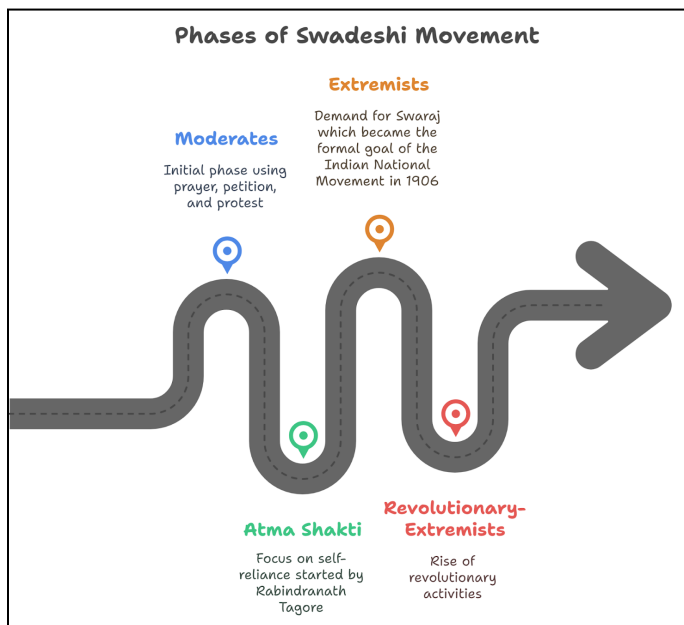
- **Partition Was Annulled:** The Partition of Bengal was annulled in 1911 by Lord Hardinge (during a Royal Durbar in Delhi). He shifted the British capital from Calcutta to Delhi to reduce the influence of Bengali nationalism.

Swadeshi Movement

- **Beginning:** Swadeshi movement was launched by the Indian National Congress (INC) on 7th August in 1905 in order to protest against the announcement of partition of Bengal by the British in July 1905.
 - It was launched from Calcutta Town Hall.
- **October 16, 1905:** The actual implementation of the partition was carried out on 16th October 1905.
 - The day of partition was observed as a 'Day of Mourning'. It was considered as a black day by the people of Bengal.
 - People fasted, and tied rakhis on one another as a symbol of unity.
 - "Amar Sonar Bangla" was composed by Rabindranath Tagore as a symbol of Bengali unity.

Space for Notes

- **Phases of Swadeshi Movement:** Swadeshi Movement was largely four major trends.



Response of Indian National Congress (INC)

- Benaras 1905 Session → Gopal Krishna Gokhale
- Calcutta 1906 Session → Dadabhai Naorji
- Surat 1907 Session → Ras Bihari Ghosh
- **Boycott Resolution:** The INC strongly criticized the reactionary policies of Lord Curzon and extended its support to the anti-partition and Swadeshi movements. The Boycott Resolution was passed in response to the Partition of Bengal, aiming to reduce the reliance on foreign goods by promoting domestic production.
- **Moderates View:** At the 1905 INC session held in Benaras, it was decided that the Congress would support the Swadeshi movement, but its scope would be confined to Bengal.
- **Extremist View:** The extremist leaders advocated for the expansion of the movement across India. Key leaders and their regions of influence included:
 - Bal Gangadhar Tilak → Bombay
 - Chidambaram Pillai → Madras

Space for Notes

- Syed Haider Raza → Delhi
- Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh → Punjab
- **1906 Session (Calcutta):** At the 1906 INC session held in Calcutta, the Congress adopted Swaraj as its political goal. The session was presided over by Dadabhai Naoroji, a leader respected by both moderates and extremists, who successfully managed to temporarily reconcile the two factions.
- **1907 Session (Surat):** In 1907, internal conflicts between the moderates and extremists over the future direction of the Swadeshi movement culminated in a major split. The dispute centered around the choice of the Congress president. With the support of the moderates, Ras Bihari Ghosh was elected president, leading to the eventual split between the two factions.

"Suddenly something flew through the air. A shoe! A Mahratta shoe! Reddish leather, pointed toe, sole studded with lead. It struck Surendranath Banerji on the cheek; it cannoned off upon Sir Pherozeshah Mehta. It flew, it fell, and at a given signal, white waves of turbaned men surged up the escarpment on the platform. Leaping, climbing, hissing the breath of fury, brandishing long sticks, they came, striking at any head that looked to them moderate, and in another moment, between brown legs standing upon the green-baize table, I caught the glimpses of the Indian National Congress dissolving in chaos." - Sir Chimanlal Setalvad in his autobiography published in 1946

As the debate got heated up between moderates and extremists, a shoe thrown from the gathering struck Surendra Nath Banerjee on the cheek and then cannoned off upon Sir Pherozeshah Mehta.

New Form of Struggle and its Impact

- **Boycott of Foreign Goods:** Foreign goods were boycotted by the people of Bengal. There was public burning of foreign cloth and foreign items were now discarded in any kind of rituals.
- **Public Meetings and Processions:** Public meetings and processions were organised for the mobilization of the masses.

Space for Notes



- **Corps of Volunteers or Samitis:** Samitis such as the Swadesh Bandhab Samiti of Ashwini Kumar Dutta were organised to mobilize the masses.
- **Festivals and Melas:** Traditional festivals such as Ganapati mela were used by Bal Gangadhar Tilak to spread the ideas of Swadeshi and put pressure on British rule.

Constructive Swadeshi / Atmashakti / Self Reliance

- Self reliance became a prominent programme during the Swadeshi movement. It was considered as an effective condition to challenge British rule.
- It involved a positive programme of setting up of **Swadeshi enterprises**, spreading **vernacular education and social work** in the countryside and reaching out to the masses through traditional folk institutions like the mela.

Dimension of Constructive Swadeshi

- **Social Dimension**
 - **Nationalist Educational Institutions:** National schools and colleges emerged across India. Bengal National College, inspired by Tagore's Shantiniketan, was established with Aurobindo Ghosh as principal.
 - **National Council of Education:** Formed on August 15, 1906, to promote literary, scientific, and technical education on national lines under Indian control.
 - **Vernacular Medium:** Emphasis on education in local languages. Bengal Institute of Technology was founded for technical training, and students were sent to Japan for advanced studies.
 - **Arbitration Courts:** Swadesh Bandhab Samiti in Bakarganj resolved 523 disputes through 89 arbitration committees by August 1906.
- **Economic Dimension**

Space for Notes

- The Swadeshi movement led to the establishment of indigenous textile mills, soap and match factories, tanneries, banks, insurance companies, and retail shops.
- **V.O. Chidambaram Pillai** launched the **Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company** at Tuticorin, directly challenging the British Indian Steam Navigation Company.
- **P.C. Ray's Bengal Chemical Factory** emerged as a successful and prominent example of Swadeshi industrial enterprise.
- **Cultural Dimension**
 - **Literature and Music:** Nationalist inspiration came from songs by Rabindranath Tagore, Rajnikant Sen, Dwijendralal Ray, Mukunda Das, Syed Abu Mohammad, and others.
 - Tagore's *Amar Sonar Bangla*, written during this period, later became the national anthem of Bangladesh.
 - In Tamil Nadu, Subramania Bharati composed patriotic songs like *Sudesh Geetham*.
 - **Painting:** Abanindranath Tagore rejected Victorian naturalism, drawing from Ajanta, Mughal, and Rajput styles. His painting of 'Bharatmata' was created during this time.
 - Nandalal Bose, a key figure in modern Indian art, was the first recipient of a scholarship from the Indian Society of Oriental Art (est. 1907).
 - **Science:** Pioneers like Jagdish Chandra Bose and Prafulla Chandra Ray conducted original research that gained international recognition.

Jagdish Chandra Bose invented a crescograph device to measure plant growth and even prove that a plant has life.

Significance of Swadeshi Movement

- **Increase in Social Base:** The Swadeshi movement expanded the social base of Indian nationalism by involving various sections of society, including students, women, and the working class.



- **Beginning of New Politics:** The movement marked the beginning of a new phase in Indian politics, as the rise of extremist leaders introduced new political methods such as passive resistance.
- **New form of Mobilisation:** It initiated new forms of political mobilisation through tools such as Swadeshi and the boycott of foreign goods.
- **Geographical Spread:** The movement spread to various parts of India, fostering a spirit of self-reliance, renewed confidence, and a reassertion of national pride.
- **Educational and Cultural Impact:** The movement led to the establishment of nationalist colleges imparting education in vernacular languages, thereby contributing to rising educational standards.
- **Revived Culture:** The Swadeshi movement also contributed to a cultural revival in India, encouraging the development of music, literature, and painting.

Limitations of Swadeshi Movement

- **Limited Participation of Muslim:** The movement failed to garner significant support from the Muslim community. The formation of the All India Muslim League in 1906 reflected the success of the British government's divisive policies.
- **Failed to Mobilize Peasantry:** The movement did not succeed in effectively mobilising the peasantry across various regions of India.
- **Lack of effective organisation and Political Structure:** The Indian National Congress lacked a strong organisational structure, which contributed to the weakening of the Swadeshi movement after the Surat Split.

Reasons for Failure of Swadeshi Movement

- **Repression from the Government Side:** The Government came out with severe repressive majors like the slogan 'Vande Mataram' was banned in public places, civil servants were disqualified for participation in the agitation while students were fined and expelled for participating in the movement.

- **Use of Violence to Suppress the Movement:** The British authorities suppressed public meetings and processions. Prominent leaders such as Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Bipin Chandra Pal were arrested and imprisoned.
- **Rift within the Congress:** Internal differences between the moderates and extremists weakened the movement, culminating in the Surat Split, which marked the beginning of political pacifism in Indian politics (for next 10 years i.e. till 1916 session)

Beginning of Revolutionary Extremism

- The emergence of revolutionary ideology in India during the late 19th and early 20th century was the result of several internal and external influences working on the minds of the youth.
- Early phase of the revolutionary movement was more pronounced in Bengal, Maharashtra and Punjab as these regions were more politically active than other parts of the country.

Reasons for Rise of Revolutionary Extremism

- **Failure of Moderates and Extremists:** The failure of moderates and extremists led to a situation of political pacifism in Indian politics. Younger elements in India took the pathway of revolutionary extremism to challenge British supremacy.
- **Economic Exploitation:** India was drained of its wealth by the British and this amplified the spirit of nationalism among the Indian youth.
- **Government Repression:** Government repression forced Indian youth to take arms in their hand as the British administration left no avenues for peace.
 - The draconian measures taken by Mr Rand as the Poona plague commissioner fuelled revolutionary activity in the region of Maharashtra.
- **Foreign Inspiration:** Indian youth drew inspiration from Irish nationalists and Russian nihilists, motivating them to adopt the path of individual heroic action.

Space for Notes

Bombay Plague and the British Inhumane Response (1897)

"In the search of houses a great zulum (atrocities) was practised by the soldiers and they entered the temples and brought out women from their houses, broke idols and burnt pothis (holy books). We determined to revenge these actions but it was no use to kill common people and it was necessary to kill the chief man. Therefore we determined to kill Mr Rand who was the chief" - Damodar Chapekar in October 1897

- **Appointment of Walter Charles Rand:** In response to the bubonic plague outbreak in Pune (then part of the Bombay Presidency), Governor William Mansfield Sandhurst appointed Walter Charles Rand as Assistant Collector and Chairman of the Poona Plague Committee in 1897.
- **Rand's Plan and Public Reaction:** Rand prioritized house-to-house searches to identify infected individuals and suspects.
 - Infected family members were forcibly taken to hospitals, sparking intense fear and resistance.
 - Locals used various tactics to hide patients, fearing mistreatment and isolation.
 - British soldiers manned all city entry and exit points to prevent escape or the smuggling of dead bodies.
- **Brutality:** These plague control measures were harsh and invasive.
 - Local newspapers and citizen complaints described it as a "reign of terror."
 - Forceful segregation and searches deeply angered the population.
- **Tilak's Article:** It was at this backdrop that Bal Gangadhar Tilak wrote in Mahratta: "Plague is more merciful to us than its human prototypes now reigning the city. The tyranny of the Plague Committee and its chosen instruments is yet too brutal to allow respectable people to breathe at ease."
- **Assassination of Rand and Ayerst:** On June 22, 1897, the Chapekar brothers—Damodar, Balkrishna, and Vasudev—assassinated Rand and Lieutenant Charles Ayerst (mistaken for Rand at first) while they were returning from Queen Victoria's Jubilee Celebration.

- Ayerst died on the spot; Rand died on July 3 from his injuries.
- **International Uproar:** The atrocities by British soldiers especially regarding the sexual assaults led to international condemnation.
 - Gopal Krishna Gokhale, then in England for the Welby Commission, gave an interview to The Manchester Guardian on July 2, 1897, highlighting British excesses.
 - It was the first time such allegations were publicly raised outside India, drawing attention in the UK press.

Space for Notes

UPSC Mains PYQ

Q To what extent did the role of the Moderates prepare a base for the wider freedom movement? Comment (2021)

Q Why did the 'Moderates' fail to carry conviction with the nation about their proclaimed ideology and political goals by the end of the nineteenth century? (2017)

UPSC Prelims PYQs

Q With reference to Swadeshi Movement consider the following statements: (2019)

1. It contributed to the revival of the indigenous artisan crafts and industries.
2. The National Council of Education was established as a part of the Swadeshi Movement.

Which of the statements given above is/are correct?

(a) 1 only

- (b) 2 only
- (c) Both 1 and 2
- (d) Neither 1 nor 2

Solution : (c)

Q The 'Swadeshi' and 'Boycott' were adopted as methods of struggle for the first time during the : **(2016)**

- (a) agitation against the Partition of Bengal
- (b) Home Rule Movement
- (c) Non-Cooperation Movement
- (d) visit of the Simon Commission to India

Answer : (a)

Q Which one of the following movements has contributed to a split in the Indian National Congress resulting in the emergence of 'moderates' and 'extremists'? **(2015)**

- (a) Swadeshi Movement
- (b) Quit India Movement
- (c) Non-Cooperation Movement
- (d) Civil Disobedience Movement

Answer : (a)

Q The Partition of Bengal made by Lord Curzon in 1905 lasted until: **(2014)**

- (a) The First World War when Indian troops were needed by the British and the partition was ended.
- (b) King George V abrogated Curzon's Act at the Royal Durbar in Delhi in 1911.
- (c) Gandhiji launched his Civil Disobedience Movement.
- (d) The Partition of India in 1947 when East Bengal became East Pakistan.

Answer : (b)



Note: Unit-wise notes are provided before the commencement of the class. Students are requested to add any additional topics covered during the lecture. Please use the margin space or additional pages for these notes.

Space for Notes